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Lord Ashbourne has dealt with the previous Irish policy of Pitt, his efforts to bring about parliamentary reform and to give Ireland free trade in England. Pitt was evidently animated throughout by the same liberal spirit. That he was not so strong a man or so resolute in facing difficulties as has been commonly supposed is likely enough. But he was certainly incapable of perfidy and probably as little likely as any man who has ever held power can be, to be led away from the path of honor by the love of place.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

*Bismarck: Some Secret Pages of His History.* Being a Diary kept by Dr. MORITZ BUSCH during twenty-five years' official and private Intercourse with the Great Chancellor. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1898. Two vols., pp. xix, 504; viii, 585.)

PRINCESS BISMARCK, who, like most wives, gave her husband shrewd advice, warned the Prince of the dangers that lurked in Moritz Busch's ink-bottle. "The doctor," said she, "may be very clever and amiable, but all the same you should be on your guard at table when he is present. He always sits there with his ears cocked, writes everything down, and then spreads it abroad." Bismarck, however, knew very well the quality of Busch's literary gossip and was willing to stamp it with his official approval. In November, 1878, Dr. Busch published a book called *Count Bismarck and His People*, the important portions of which are incorporated in the work now before us. Bismarck himself revised the manuscript, and, after it was printed, told Busch that it would give fools the impression that Bismarck was a bitter, censorious, envious creature, unable to bear the vicinity of any greatness. Nevertheless, at the close of the same conversation, Bismarck told his Boswell "as soon as I am dead you can say whatever you like, everything you know." The Prince gave to Busch the use of important papers, and said, "One day long after my death Bueschlein will write the secret history of our times from good sources." The doctor declared to the Prince, "I have always regarded myself as your little archer, who at your call would even shoot my bolt at the sun himself." The reader, therefore, may study these volumes with some assurance that the portrait of Bismarck therein contained is authentic as far as it goes.

There are in these memoirs three clearly distinct groups of materials of uneven value. First are the constantly recurring abstracts of the articles written by Busch, mostly at Bismarck's own dictation, for sundry newspapers at home and abroad.

The period of Dr. Busch's greatest activity as confidential secretary was from 1870 to 1873, but he continued to help Bismarck "tune the newspapers," especially after April, 1877, until the latter's retirement in 1890. These "inspired" editorials, once delivered to the public through the mouthpieces of the imperial government, relate to every

phase of Bismarck's domestic and foreign policy. To the close student of Bismarck's statesmanship they will be of considerable service, as they will help him to guess at the real motives for some of the Chancellor's moves upon the political checker-board. They are of no value and of little interest to the general reader except as they reveal Bismarck's method of creating public opinion and Bismarck's notions of ethics. It seems surprising that in a country where newspapers count for so little, a statesman with so profound a contempt for popular opinion should have been eager to notice and combat obscure journalistic critics. Bismarck's journalistic battery, however, was most useful to him as a means of electrifying his friends in Vienna or his enemies in England or in the court circle around the Empress. The brain of Bismarck and the hand of Bismarck set the current in motion and then the wily Chancellor watched the resultant gestures. After the shock was once felt by the right party, Bismarck had no conscientious scruples about denying his own participation in the affair and roundly condemning his agents. So Busch in 1888 wrote at Bismarck's suggestion a stinging article against the two Victorias, which article Bismarck promptly, publicly and indignantly condemned. The doctor, who elsewhere says that Bismarck "thoroughly understood the business of journalism," was not much disturbed by Bismarck's apparent tergiversation. He wrote in his diary, "*Tempora mutantur?* But I shall never change towards him, nor he doubtless toward me." The members of Bismarck's Literary Bureau counted such sacrifices for their chief of little moment, and Busch thought none the less of his chief because the latter sometimes deceived or repudiated him. Busch was not one to love and serve in silence, however. "I said (to Bismarck) that I would let myself be cut to pieces for his sake; that as for me he was like one of God's prophets upon earth." On one page of his diary he compares Bismarck to "the god Odin," and on the next he writes "I am not disposed to question . . . that he must look back upon his deeds and creations with something of the feeling with which God the Father on the seventh day regarded the world He had made." Twice Busch records that he called Bismarck "Master and Messiah." Bismarck answered "Blasphemy? But you have deserved my confidence."

Such being the feelings of Busch towards his chief, it is obvious what opinions he would entertain of his associates who were not equally faithful. The second group of materials collected by him reveals the daily life of that little group of Bismarck's clerks and secretaries in the Foreign Office, as Busch saw and knew them. These passages have little value in so far as they are verdicts upon men who for the world at large are comparatively obscure, but they convey a vivid picture of daily life in a department of state. The third element in these volumes is the record of conversations with Bismarck, comprising about one-third of the whole work. Almost every line of it is full of lively interest. It has already become—and will remain—a storehouse of Bismarckian anecdotes and quotations. That the doctor is an accurate reporter in the main is more than probable. No one but Bismarck smote out these sledge-hammer

sentences: Gagern is "a mere watering-can of fine phrases." "The Serene Highnesses fluttered around me (at Versailles) like crows round a screech-owl." "Bleichroeder must go into Paris immediately, smell and be smelt at by his brethren in the faith and discuss with the bankers how it is to be done" (payment of French indemnity). "These Parisians who boast of being the cream of civilization, but who in reality are merely the redskins of the pavement." "Professor Gladstone!" "That greenhorn Mommsen!"

The most common subject of Bismarck's monologues with his secretary or his table-companions was his relations with the principal members of the Hohenzollern family. It is surprisingly plain that Bismarck maintained no conventional fictions about the real depositary of supreme power. There is not the slightest trace of that ancient sentiment that caused Chatham to tremble in the presence of George III. Said Bismarck: "I have seen three kings in a state of nakedness and frequently these three exalted gentlemen did not make altogether a very good show. Still it would not do to say that openly before the world. . . . And yet I can just as little keep silent." While he worked he was both King and Emperor; when he could not rule, he resigned. These are the mutterings of a weary Titan, fretted because he must not use his strength beyond the powers of the royal weaklings with whom he was associated. William I. appears as a good-natured, childish dotard, whom Bismarck liked to play with and whom Bismarck periodically preserved from a propensity to tell lies and to fall under the baneful influence of the Empress-Queen Augusta. "The King wishes to see some newspapers and he wishes to have the most important passages marked. Mark some places in the *Nord-Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, it does not much matter what, and send me up the paper." "Nov. 29, 1870. The King told me an untruth to-day. He cannot lie . . . in such a way that it cannot be detected." "As he sits at work, Augusta sticks her head into the room and asks in a caressing voice, 'Do I disturb you?' When he, always gallant, replies 'No,' she comes in and pours out all sorts of insignificant gossip to him. . . . That is not love, however, but pure play-acting. . . . There is nothing natural about her—everything is artificial inwardly as well as outwardly." Again, in 1888, "He (William I.) usually began by taking the wrong road, but in the end he always allowed himself to be put straight again." Bismarck's attitude towards the Empresses Augusta and Victoria needs no illustration. For different reasons he constantly opposed each of them and he called them "snobs." "Whenever I performed on the political tight-rope they hit me on the shins, and if I had only fallen, how delighted they would have been." As to William's successor the Bismarck sentiment was clearly expressed by Busch. "After the death of the Emperor Frederick, I wrote to Bucher a few lines expressing the satisfaction I felt that we were relieved of that incubus, and that his place was now to be taken by a disciple and admirer of the Chief." As early as 1882 Bismarck spoke approvingly of the younger William. "He is not at all disposed to put up with parlia-

mentary co-regents." In 1888 Busch notes Prince William's friendliness to the Chancellor thus: "What high appreciation and what modest self-suppression and honorable subordination on the part of the future Emperor! May God reward him for it! . . . But what does his mother think of it?" After William's accession Bismarck said (September, 1888) "He has more understanding, more courage and greater independence of court influences [than his grandfather], but in his leaning towards me he goes far." A year and a half later came the end. Bismarck burst out upon Busch, "I cannot stand him any longer. . . . I cannot tack on as a tail to my career the failures of arbitrary and inexperienced self-conceit for which I should be responsible."

Busch's stories make it as clear as day that Bismarck and young William were merely two emperors in one realm. A collision was inevitable unless the Bismarck dynasty was to supplant the Hohenzollerns. If a tithe of Bismarck's table-talk, as here reported, reached the Emperor's ears, he was indeed lenient and long-suffering with his great subject. Bismarck said: "For our gibing at princes, we ought each to have ten years of penal servitude."

It is evident that Bismarck had few friends with whom he met on equal terms. Secure in his self-confidence he permitted no rivals, admitted no equals. Scarcely a single contemporary of any rank is mentioned by Bismarck with hearty commendation. Some one quoted Goethe's verse,

"Selig wer sich vor der Welt  
    Ohne Hass verschliesst,"

and Bismarck exclaimed "Without hate! What a tailor's soul he must have!" Bismarck did confess to Busch that he had a weakness for Americans. This occurred at the time when Burnside and Phil Sheridan were visiting him, and Busch observes that the latter general particularly spoke "the purest Yankee dialect."

In this portraiture of the Chancellor there is no more striking and significant feature than Bismarck's frequent and sincere declarations of religious faith. There is a true Puritan flavor in his uniformly unquestioning belief that all his foes, domestic and foreign, are God's foes also. It is quite likely that this development of Bismarck's nature owed much to the influence of his wife, who wrote to him when he was before Paris, thus: "I fear you will not be able to find a Bible in France, so I shall shortly send you the Psalms, in order that you may read the prophecies against the French—'I tell thee, the godless shall be destroyed.'" When Bismarck was with the army he kept in his baggage and read habitually two Moravian manuals of devotion, *Daily Watchwords and Texts of the Moravian Brethren for 1870*, and *Daily Spiritual Refreshment for Believing Christians*. At the same time, at table, he discoursed at length upon trust in God, saying: "If I did not believe in a Divine Providence which has ordained this German nation to something good and great, I would at once give up my trade as a statesman or I should never have

gone into the business. . . . A resolute faith in a life after death—for that reason I am a royalist; otherwise I am by nature a republican. . . . Sever my connection with God, and I am a man who would pack up tomorrow and be off to Varzin and say — — — (too vulgar for print) and cultivate his oats. You would then deprive me of my King, because, if there is no Divine Commandment why should I subordinate myself to these Hohenzollerns? They are a Suabian family no better than my own, and in that case no concern of mine. Why should I be worse than Jacoby, who might then be accepted as President, or even as King? He would be in many ways more sensible, and at all events cheaper." Busch has in this passage undoubtedly preserved a lava-burst hot from the heart of the volcano. It contains not only Bismarck's creed, but his political philosophy too, equally simple in statement and broad in extent. He felt himself to be no mere king's-man such as Thomas Cromwell and Cardinal Wolsey were. He was on the side of a strong and permanent central authority because his religious faith told him that such is the law of the universe, and because he believed that a nation could be made strong only by conformity to this—the Divine plan of organization. On this account this man of "blood and iron" contended all his life against English ideas and against England, "rich, burly, full-blooded England," as he called it, and strove to exclude from the German system, so far as possible, the venom of English parliamentarism. "They hate and slander me because I am a Junker and not a professor. . . . I was born a Junker, but my policy was not that of the Junkers. I am a Royalist in the first place, and then a Prussian and a German. I will defend my King and the monarchy against revolution, both overt and covert, and I will establish and leave behind me a strong and healthy Germany." After thirty years of service Bismarck had so identified himself with Germany, had become so completely the man of destiny, that dismissal from office shattered his allegiance to the Germany external to himself, and he permitted himself to exalt the memory and the ideals of Emperor Frederick, an act which the faithful Busch records with grieved surprise.

It is probably safe to say that no one who, either as psychologist or political philosopher, wishes to know the real Bismarck, can leave these volumes unread. Nowhere else in the world now can the voice of Bismarck speak so frankly and clearly as here. Nor is it by any means only Bismarck the politician and minister of state who is revealed. Here is Bismarck quoting poetry,—Shakespeare, Goethe, Schiller. There he discusses pedagogics, asserting that he has forgotten the Latin and Greek that he once knew, and that learned men retain those languages in the schools because they are unwilling to lessen the value of what they have themselves laboriously acquired. As a substitute for Greek he proposes Russian, a language at once more difficult and more valuable. There are many glimpses of the purely human side of his nature. "The tears rolled down his cheeks when he talked of his quarrel with Moritz von Blankenburg." At Friedrichsruh he said to Busch, "I always feel hap-

piest in my top-boots, striding through the heart of the forest, where I hear nothing but the knocking and hammering of the woodpecker, far away from your civilization."

It is also safe to say that no one who seeks the real Bismarck can find him in these volumes alone. Here we have Bismarck in his working dress, with his tobacco and liquor, talking always with his inferiors, the plodding scholar Bucher, the mirror-like Busch. With them he could safely relieve his mind of the acrid temper that heavy responsibility and the dyspepsia had combined to store there, or he could amuse himself by playing Jupiter Olympius amid a group of reverent and acquiescent worshippers. In his own *Memoirs* on the other hand Bismarck is always in full uniform, as Imperial Chancellor, with dignity describing and defending his state-craft. Both these characters belong to the real Bismarck, and without the aid of Dr. Busch the world would scarcely have known the former type, which is far the more interesting. Busch is certainly as silly as Boswell and almost as persistent, and Bismarck displayed an almost sublime sense of security in admitting such a man to intimacy. No other statesman of modern Europe has been so often photographed by the instantaneous process. Perhaps no other statesman has been so confident of his own unique greatness and solitary supremacy that he has become accustomed to think aloud, without reserve, in the presence of his servants. But this suggests again the question, which nine years ago vexed William II. : After 1870 was the German Emperor the man who held the title?

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

*Gedanken und Erinnerungen von OTTO Fürst von BISMARCK.* (New York and Stuttgart : J. G. Cotta. 1898. Pp. xxvi, 647.)

*Bismarck, the Man and the Statesman: Being the Reflections and Reminiscences of OTTO, Prince von BISMARCK*, written and dictated by himself after his retirement from office. Translated from the German under the supervision of A. J. Butler, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. (New York and London : Harper and Brothers. 1899. Two vols., pp. xxi, 415 ; xx, 362.)

HAD Julius Caesar left us reminiscences not only of his wars but also of his political activity, and had he interspersed reflections upon the history of the republic since the Gracchi, upon the organization of the new monarchy and upon the policy to be followed in dealing with Rome's allies and enemies, it is needless to inquire what importance historical students would attach to such a book. Of course, there are weak points in this comparison. Bismarck has left behind him results that promise to be permanent, but it is not likely that these will seem as momentous to scholars of the thirty-eighth century as the results of Caesar's life still seem to us. In Caesar's case, moreover, we do not possess what our remote descendants will possess in Bismarck's—letters and speeches covering the man's whole public life and showing his position at every critical